1: Lattimore H-4 (no date) 1950 AI1 Sinkiang AI1
Kazak
Kirghiz

*563 197 212 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this respect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939, 76.3 per cent were literate.

*563 771 562 The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Mohammedanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they remained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 101 *Kirghiz.* There has been considerable confusion in the use of the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Russian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak*." These distinctions were made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use, both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establishment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are continuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

*563 631 212 Moslems because such scholarly incentives as exist among them consist mainly of acquiring a modicum of ability to read the Koran in Arabic.

*563 562 779 The influence of Islam on the status of women appears to be somewhat less baleful. Sinkiang Moslem women generally enjoy more freedom than their sisters in Islamic countries of the Near East, and those who belong to the Chinese Moslem community rank high in this respect. The institution of purdah, for example, does not exist among them.

*563 779 186 668 [602] The most marked influence of Islam among the Chinese has been as a political force, to unite those of Moslem faith against Chinese not of the faith. Chinese Moslem society is even stronger in patriarchal authority and clan loyalty than "heathen" Chinese society. The principle that well-to-do members of a clan have a responsibility for the welfare of their poorer distant relatives, as well as advantages over them, is given a heightened authority among Moslem Chinese by the feeling that they form a minority which must keep its ranks closed; whereas among non-Moslem Chinese, the precept is often honored but not conscientiously observed. In times of civil war and peasant rebellion, especially, Moslem war lord armies normally combine military discipline and community loyalty: they are not merely troops and officers, but clansmen and chieftains. Even in periods of widespread peasant unrest, therefore, the leaders of the Chinese Moslem communities are usually able to lead Moslem peasants against both non-Moslem peasants and non-Moslem landlords. Often what starts as a Moslem peasant revolt is taken over by Moslem landlords and converted into a movement to expand the whole Moslem community against the non-Moslem community, and to prevent the Moslem community from being infiltrated either by Chinese nationalism or by ideas of social revolution.

*563 578 186 The essentially nonreligious character of the internecine wars among the two main groups of Chinese in Sinkiang, however, in spite of the appeal to Islam in closing the ranks of the Chinese Moslems, is indicated by the failure of the Moslem Chinese to establish anything more than temporary alliances with their co-

562 177 There is, on the whole, a stirring, Wild West attractiveness about her appearance, this Kalmuck Mongol, even as she goes about the tasks of preparing cheese, chopping wood, or milking.

Nor is she necessarily an ignorant woman. A Mongol princess of Tihwa, for example, has studied English in Pei-p'ing, French and medicine at Brussels, and in addition speaks Russian as well as her native tongue. The problem of so-called Oriental conservatism, according to this woman's views, may have originated in a desire to be undisturbed. But she, and other Mongol intelligentsia, are alert and modest enough to admit that out of the creativeness of the Occident new light is being shed on how man might best live; from the history of such as she and her ancestors, the Occident has in its turn much to learn.

The Kirgiz

563 773 Another of the fascinating ethnic groups that roam the Sinkiang mountains and steppes are the Kirgiz. They are the people whom a legendary white Prester John is said to have ruled in the Middle Ages, and they are supposed to have introduced the Christianity of Nestorius to Asia. The Kirgiz are related to the old Uighurs also, it seems, and were powerful in the Altai region in the centuries just preceding the Mongol invasion. They, like the Mongols, are horsemen; but their homeland is in the steep crags, the narrow mountain trails and not so much in the steppes. Those who now live in the Pamirs fringing Southwest Sinkiang have their own legends of origin. It seems that there were once *kirk kiz,* "forty maidens," who became pregnant and so gave birth to the Kirgiz people. One version of the story is that they had intercourse with a red dog; another, that they dipped their fingers in a magic stream; a third, that the foam of Lake Issyk Kul served as the needed sperm.

795 622 Moslems of the Sunni order, the Kirgiz vest their tribal government in the hands of elders whose dicta are strictly respected. These elders adjudicate a multitude of questions such as those of petty thievery, pas- 695 toral boundaries, and property settlements. No foreigner is supposed to witness a Kirgiz court, which often meets in an ante-room of an *ak-ui* or *kirga*—the native tent dwelling. Adjournment of the court is sig-

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

his headquarters. Still more surprising, he greeted us in halting but recognizable English, a language which he told us he had learnt as a student at Peking but had since had little opportunity to practise. His Russian, we understood, was much more fluent, as he had been attached for a year to the Chinese Consulate at Irkutsk before the Revolution. Mr. Chiu was one of the few specimens I came across of official Young China in the exile of the Far West; others included Mr. M. Y. Tao, Foreign Affairs Secretary to the Tao Tai, and three different Postmasters of Kashgar. I had had no previous experience of the ex-student class, and I must say I was most favourably impressed with their manners, intelligence and capacity.

Merket, though the centre of a large and growing oasis, is merely a big market-village nestling under the lee of a low range of sand-hills crowned with mud-built shrines and tombs. The people belong to a race of unknown origin called the Dulanis, who interested me very much. Sir P. Sykes says they are akin to the Kirghiz of the mountains[1]; but in my humble opinion they have no connexion with that race, and are probably indigenous to the marshes and jungles of the Yarkand (Tarim) River between Yarkand and Aksu. They differ from the Kirghiz in facial appearance, physique, mentality and habits even more widely than from their neighbours the Turkis, with whom at any rate they have intermarried to a certain extent. The only common characteristic I noticed in the Kirghiz and the Dulanis was the freedom accorded by both to their women, who not only mix freely unveiled with the men but do most of the hard work for them; and this is probably only a superficial resemblance, for the status of women among the Kirghiz is directly connected with their nomadic life. The Dulani women are remarkably good-looking and vivacious in the Southern European style and, as Miss Sykes noticed, eat, dance and sing with the men at entertainments which often last the whole night long—gaieties quite foreign to the quiet, Northern, rather staid Kirghiz. A vivid impression was made on us both by a handsome young village woman we talked to one afternoon, who might have been own sister to the subject of one of Miss Sykes' most charming photographic studies. As we sat on a bank near the western edge of the oasis looking out towards the golden dunes of the Takla Makan, she passed us carrying a sick lamb in her arms to the little farm buried in trees that

[1] "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia," p. 241.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 was her home. She made such a pretty picture as she smiled to us in greeting that I took out my camera and snapped her, saying as I did so "*Qurqmaselar.*" ("Don't be afraid"), for I was accustomed to the shyness of the women of the plains which renders a natural (i.e. unposed) photograph of them so difficult to obtain. To our surprise she tossed her head and said "I'm not afraid of men!" and then and there she chatted pleasantly to us for a few minutes, holding the lamb in her arms all the while, asking us all about ourselves and gossiping about Merket and the Amban's visit. On another occasion we noticed a Dulani woman digging in a field of heavy clay with great energy, while her husband strolled along behind the plough-bullocks close by. As for the town, the men there seem to leave everything to the fair sex, and a picture comes to my mind of a blacksmith's forge with a woman toiling away at the bellows with one hand and holding a horse-shoe in the fire with the other, while her husband and two other loafers sat by looking on. It was an astonishing sight, every time we issued from our Chinese rest-house just outside the bazaar, to see rows and rows, not of women and children as at Keriya but of full-grown men lining the railings waiting for us to come out; I counted seventy-two of them on one occasion, and hardly a single woman.

181 The standard of living as well as of morals among the Dulanis is noticeably lower than among the Turkis; thieving is rife, witness the watch-dogs which seem to average about three per house. They are also an exceedingly quarrelsome and vindictive race, in contrast to the easy-going, good-natured 627 Turki. A Dulani will do anything to hurt an enemy. It is a regular thing for one who has a quarrel with another to 682 threaten to kill his child or himself "at" his enemy, i.e. in order to bring bad luck on him, and sometimes he does it, too. The extraordinary thing is that the Chinese recognize the custom, and usually give judgment against the party "at" whom the child-murder or suicide was committed! They argue that the person who committed suicide or killed his child must have been seriously wronged, otherwise he would not have taken so dreadful a step. In a case I heard with the Amban of Maralbashi one of the main issues, argued at great length, was whether the plaintiff, who had attempted to kill himself by swallowing an over-dose of opium, had done so "at" the defendant, or, as the latter maintained, "at" a third party.

600 During our stay at Merket an important "international"

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

forked rest attached to the barrel. A quarter of the circumference is occupied by a pile of rolled-up felts, bolsters and rugs; the wealth of the owners may be accurately gauged from the size of this pile, just as that of cottagers in a German forest may, according to Mark Twain, be judged by the dimensions of the manure-heap outside their door.

In some parts of the Chinese Pamirs the Kirghiz are said to be dying out, but I do not think this is the case among the Alps of Qungur. We found that few households contained less than two children; one woman had four and another told D. that she had had eight. Infant mortality is high, and the race is not prolific; if it were, the Malthusian problems raised would be insoluble in a country where the grazing, though excellent in quality, is strictly limited in quantity. But the Kirghiz of the Qaratash basin are by no means decadent or weakly, and the scanty population is, if anything, increasing. Considering their complete ignorance of hygiene and rules of diet, they are a remarkably healthy race, thanks no doubt to the open-air life they lead and to their avoidance of houses. The chief ailments D. came across in her amateur doctorings (which were enormously appreciated and had, so far as we knew, no fatal results) were skin diseases, indigestion and other stomach troubles, as well as running sores which looked in some cases as if they might be tuberculous. Some of the faces were pitted by small-pox, but not badly. It is interesting to note that the Qizil Tagh Kirghiz, who have given up tents and taken to houses, are subject to epidemics and are probably dying out. In one of the valleys of that region we passed a whole settlement which had been depopulated three years before by an epidemic of some fatal disease and was now deserted. Though the Kirghiz never wash, their *aq-ois* are as a rule carefully swept and free from vermin, and we seldom had any qualms about sleeping in them on occasion.

The women, as has already been noticed, are frank, fearless, self-reliant and natural, in refreshing contrast to their Turki sisters, at any rate in the towns.

"There is a sort of Scotch-ness about them" (says D. in one of her letters from Kaying Bashi), "a common-sense that is entirely lacking in the people of the plains. They love woolly gloves, muslin, mirrors, buttons, pins and so on because of their usefulness, not only because of their novelty, and would rather have enough plain stuff to make a dress or coat than the yard or two of bright-coloured satin which a Turki woman would immediately go for. . . . There is one extremely attractive and coquettish lady in this valley, but she is

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 the exception rather than the rule, and most of them simply treat the men as their equals, though perhaps finding them a little stupid!"

In the Chopkana Jilgha there was a Turki girl from Yangi Hissar married to a Kirghiz. D. noticed at once how different she was from the others, more sophisticated and not nearly so efficient. She was a fish out of water, poor girl, and not at all happy. The only specimen of a Turki-Kirghiz hybrid we came across was a youngish, unhealthy-looking little man called Tash Mulla who attached himself to us in the Yapchan Jilgha. He was rather too clever and pushing, and we did not like him as well as some of the pure Kirghiz.

462 The strength and hardiness of the women are astonishing. They are splendid workers, not only doing all the household work but milking the yaks, cows, sheep and goats, weaving the rugs and other woollen articles, making the rope, pitching and striking the *aq-ois* and performing many other duties. The men are inclined to be lazy and are fond of twanging the guitar until a late hour and lying abed of a morning. But they are wiry and capable of great exertions, and they do not by any means leave all the work to the women, as is usually said of the men in other Kirghiz communities. They are responsible for the cultivation of the barley-fields, as well as for the safety of the flocks and herds on the mountain-side. Anyone who thinks that Kirghiz men enjoy a sinecure can try looking after thirty self-willed yaks or a couple of hundred sheep on a grazing-ground 5,000 feet from top to bottom and pitched at an angle of forty-five degrees.

136 There could be no more interesting hunting-ground for the naturalist than these narrow but well-watered and sheltered valleys, islanded between the belt of utterly barren foothills on one side and the snowy wastes of the great ranges on the other. There must have been many interesting local variations, possibly even new species, among the plentiful fauna of the Kaying Valley alone, had we but possessed the knowledge and skill to collect them. Snow leopards exist, but fortunately for the Kirghiz are uncommon; one killed a yak calf and ten sheep just before we arrived in June 1923. I saw several herds of ibex; it was hard not to be able to go after them, but a man cannot serve two masters and I had to choose between the delights of the chase and the sterner but more fruitful cult of the plane-table. Wolves exist in some of the valleys, but the Kirghiz had cleared Kaying of them. Red foxes, as I have already mentioned, are occasionally trapped,

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the bazaar—if this Yarkandlik comes here I don't know what will happen!" However, not long afterwards glad news came to the effect that the Yarkand wife's late husband, who had been to Leh trading, had come back and had been so annoyed with her for marrying Abdulla (her divorce had only been a *raja'i* or "non-binding" one) that he had promptly slit her nose! Neither of Abdulla's Kashgar wives was afraid of her after that.

D.'s maid, Aisha Khan, who was by profession a laundry-woman, had a good-for-nothing husband who had lived on her for years and refused to grant her a divorce. In the spring of 1924 he married another laundry-woman and began spending her money too—a *double* "washerwoman's husband." It was not till just before we left that Aisha Khan, by offering to give up all the household property she had brought with her on marriage, induced him to divorce her. This was not the only case of "washerwoman's husband" we came across. The wife of one of the Consulate staff employed a fine strapping woman-servant, the wife of an under-sized nonentity in the bazaar who never did a hand's turn. D. spoke to the Consulate lady about this woman, asking whether she was unhappy and whether the man was not ashamed to live on his wife. "Oh, no," was the reply, "he is a very good husband to So-and-so, very *yawash* (quiet) and tame; sits at home quietly and does not interfere with her comings and goings or make trouble in any way. She tells people that he works and is earning good money; but every one knows that he lives on her."

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hardly on women in towns, who have no security in their home life. Cases are only too frequent of wives legally deserted by their husbands with one or more children to look after and insufficient maintenance or none at all. Babies are often left on the steps of mosques on festival days, perhaps to be adopted by some good Mussulman, perhaps not. But it must be remembered that conditions are much more healthy among the country people; while even in the towns the position of women is not nearly so bad as in most Muhammadan countries. Only the wives of the wealthiest are strictly veiled, and even they visit each other's houses, as in Persia. The women of the middle and lower classes have their own riding-donkeys and do their shopping in the bazaars freely; as often as not it is the wife

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

562 who holds the purse-strings and does the selling of the farm-produce as well as the buying. Nowadays it is quite a common thing for a married woman to have her own profession, dress-making, cap-embroidering, cotton-spinning, midwifery, cooking at restaurants, dyeing, soap-making, sorcery, laundering, brokering and so on. Out of doors they wear the *chumbal* or stiff rectangular veil, but most of the time this is thrown back over the head; only when some important male personage comes along, such as a Chinese official or an Aqsaqal or a British Consul-General, do they pull the veil hastily down again for a few moments. This is in strong contrast to India, where only the women of the lowest castes go about unveiled.

It must also be remembered that the average Turki man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going, rather slow-witted person, so that the sharper-tongued, quicker-witted and more energetic woman more than holds her own—so long, at any rate, as she can keep her husband at her side. On the whole, the term *mazlum-kishi* (oppressed person), which is the regular word for "woman" in Kashgaria, need not be taken too seriously. A woman above the average in looks or wit profits as much by the looseness of the marriage tie as her less-favoured sister suffers from it; she can exchange an uncongenial husband for a better one with very little difficulty. A Kashgar beauty dates her past life by her successive husbands, just as a racing enthusiast in this country dates his by Derby winners. I cannot say, however, that I heard of any woman approaching the matrimonial record of a certain good-looking Mussulman British subject of scarcely more than middle age, who was credited with having espoused over sixty different wives in his time, and was still going strong when we left.

854 A married woman does not reach her full social stature until she is thirty years old or more, when she attains the dignity of *jawanlik*. A *jawan* is a woman who has attained years of discretion and is entitled to the privilege of braiding her hair in two long plaits. This "coming of age" is an important and festive event, like a wedding; the husband gives a large party called the *jawanlik toi*, to which both men and women are invited (they do not, of course, mix); at this feast she appears for the first time with her hair braided and wearing a special kind of shirt, known as the *jawanchi konglak*. She is now more important and respected than before; she is also worth more in the marriage market, for men do not like child-brides who know nothing and may at any moment

S
N A group of patrilineally
563 related families forms the basic economic (i.e., migrational)
621 unit in Mongol society. Pastures are distributed among such
S units. The structure of the society itself dictates a certain
N collectivistic working concept. Mongol social groupings are
[622] led by tribal chieftains, who are directly responsible to the
563 district Chinese official. Mongol society, unlike other North-
[122 western societies, has not undergone great changes under
668 Communist influences. Their basic pattern of life has remained
S the same as it was under the Manchu and Republican regimes.
563 The Oirats (or Western Mongols:
233 The Oirats of the Northwest are primarily pastoral nomads.
[434] Their chief source of income is cattle, horses, sheep and
[131] goats. Because they live in a desert-steppe area they move
around in larger or smaller groups depending upon the avail-
able resources.
S
563 The designation for these small economic and migrational
621 units or camps is "xotn" which includes a group of nuclear
[594] families patrilineally related - tracing descent from a common
[613] ancestor in the third, fourth, or fifth generation.
Membership in this group can be gained by adoption, by
[597] attachment of a daughter's husband in the case of a man
with no sons and of poor unrelated families or poor related
families on the paternal side. Although some poorer families
remained apart from these "xotn" it usually is more worth-
while to add their few cattle, etc., to that of the larger
group and render services in return for the benefits gained
S thereby.
[613] Among the Oirats the closer an individual's relationship
[554] to the ancestor, the greater prestige and status he enjoys in
this group.
S
563 The headman or elder ("axalaci") dwells in a tent situated in
361 the front of the encampment facing south. The remainder of
[622] the group is arranged according to the age of the male members
S in a circle behind the dwelling of the elder. The dependent
[613] families are situated in the rear of the circle but still according
[554] to the closeness of their relation to the ancestor.
Wives of members of these extended families are also
563 affected by the social set-up; their position and status varies
621 directly with that of their husbands, although a wife's position
593 as far as respect patterns go was never equal to her husband's.
562 A wife observes strict respect for her husband's kinsmen who
possess, by reason of age and relationship, a higher position
than that of her husband. Very often she will not even pronounce
the names of any of these elder gentlemen out of respect for
them. The status of the wife grows with that of her husband
during his lifetime. When he dies, she can either remain
living with his kinsmen, in which case she holds the same
position socially that he had during his lifetime, or she can

/Oirats/

563 621 593 562 return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.

The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of 563 622 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] [233] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 622 591 233 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away from the family and establish himself independently, he can rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 629 233 428 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly among his children, with the exception of the eldest son, who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers. A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 621 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 628 [626] If a crime is committed by a member of a particular "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative.

563 621 [65] [582] The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based 563 628 233 423 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of land from which they choose a part each summer and each winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another, the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 622 628 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen

/The New Uighurs/

563 565 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 565 793 [871] 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin, Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 565 795 [423] This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 565 441 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 [591] Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy [595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants [556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The [851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In [428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc- [562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

779 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the S N 779 829 loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S 121 592 ### A. Family Organization

In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has S 595 563 more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as S [562] [152] such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] [582]

The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself.

563 592 593 182

A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178

The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563

The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage. [671] [779]

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 562 563 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 593 [868] [584] [425] [428] [171] The father-son relationship is very important, particularly when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). However, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce, [586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The [582] daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen) to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's [586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

/Nomadic Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 593 [369] [434] Children and parents relationships differ also. They are characterized by a much greater economic interdependence. The children of the city-dwellers have a certain degree of economic independence, and have a small income of their own at an early age, but no opportunity of the sort presents itself to the nomadic children. [868] The sons help their fathers and learn from them how to manage the livestock, how to shoot and hunt, how to bargain and sell, etc... they remain attached to their families even after marriage, having no separate property of their own.

[868] The daughters have much to learn from their mothers, in preparation for the many responsibilities that they will have in the future, and their help around the house is extremely valuable and necessary. A daughter, however, does not retain her relationship with her family after she is married, but shifts her allegiance to her husband's family.

563 592 In the nomadic society, families constitute definite units of production. This is the basis for their unity and close cooperation. It is almost impossible for a couple to get along without the help of their children and it is rare that their children would be able to become economically independent. Moreover, the family framework provides for the educational, religious, and social needs for the individuals comprising it.

563 184 562 583 [586] B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

Among the Turkis of the plains, for example at Kashgar, women are at a discount, wives are cheap and divorces even cheaper. Among the mountain people (particularly among the Kirghiz) however, girls are at a premium and the would-be-bridegroom or his father has to pay a heavy brideprice, which usually amounts to ten to thirty yaks or their equivalent in other kinds of livestock. When 563 584 a boy has reached the age of six or seven and therefore may be expected to survive until manhood, his parents ordinarily betroth him to a neighbor's daughter of similar age. This betrothal is known as the qalam. The female relatives of both parties play a [583] leading part in the lengthy haggling about the brideprice which precedes it.

563 585 When all yaks have been paid, and the young people have reached the age of fourteen and sixteen years respectively, the bride's people invite all the neighbors to a feast at which the marriage is announced. The bride and bridegroom remain in their tents in the background and do not attend. The feast and announcement, known as the nikah, constitute the wedding, there being no other ceremony. However, the bridegroom cannot yet take his bride to his own home. She continues to live with her parents for a period of two to five months, during which the latter make and furnish an aq-oi (tent with its felts, rugs, wall hangings, screens, pots, pans, milk bowls, and other necessary items. The bridegroom continues

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

4. Customs

S N 563 779 782 [793] a. Religious rites

According to religious rules, the Moslems are supposed to pray five times daily (sunrise, noon, afternoon, sunset and midnight), facing in the direction of Mecca. Few of the Chinese Moslems besides the Mullahs and Ahungs adhere strictly, but pray only once or twice a day. To be valid, prayers should be performed in the mosque, but those who find it impossible to go to the mosques may pray wherever they are. The call to prayer (adhan) is made by the Ahung, or religious leader, and the believers join in saying the adhan. Daily noon prayer is popular, and the Friday service is the most fully attended.

S N [562]

Public worship cannot be performed by fewer than four persons. Women may not attend the mosques where the men pray. In some places, women have their own mosques and women Ahung to direct the prayers and Friday services. Women always worship as individuals and not as a congregation, though there may be a number of women gathered together.

S N 563 779 782 783

The Moslems must be clean when they attend any religious ceremony. Hands and face must be washed, and bathing before worship is common. For this reason all mosques of importance have bathing places annexed. The Moslem becomes unclean by touching such objects as dishes containing pork or any meat not killed according to ritual, pigs, dogs, wine or excrement.

S N 563 779 782 785 779 [203]

The thirty-day fast of Ramadan is fairly strictly observed. During this period one is not to eat between sunrise and sunset, and such things as smoking, drinking and sexual contact are also forbidden. In many places, a messenger goes about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing or breaking the fast, lest someone oversleep or fail to prepare and eat the necessary food before daybreak. The end of the fast is celebrated by a feast.

The aged, ill, insane, travelers, women who are pregnant, menstruating or nursing, persons doing heavy labor or whose lives are in danger are excused from the fast, but if or when they are able they must make up for it. The purpose of the fast is to help the believers maintain pure and pious lives. Fasting is considered meritorious at other times too, except on Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

b. Naming

S N 563 553 852 [788]

Within seven days after the birth of a child, he must be given a Koranic name, or Ching-ming (religious name). For this occasion a feast is prepared, and the poor are fed. If the child is a male and the family wealthy enough, two sheep are killed for the occasion. If the child is a girl, only one sheep is killed. To arrive at the name, the father holds the child with its face toward Mecca and repeats a prayer in one ear of the child, then

/The Kirghiz/

563 262 [484] When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds on the mountainsides.

[735] Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 291 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate. Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 583 562 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their 563 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's 584 daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by 583 women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been 563 paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper 585 age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents [582] invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 585 591 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may [606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

000 ing thick porridge and pilav, are eaten with the fingers.

563 291 c. Clothing

Men's clothing consists of a short inner robe (chapan) and white cloth trousers. A gray-brown or dark blue cotton robe is worn outside. The outer garment for winter is lined with cotton-wool or sheepskin. The man girdles himself with a dark blue, brownish or crimson cotton sash. In the summer the men wear skullcaps, which are taken off only when the head is shaved. In winter a warm hat with a wide band of fur is worn over the skullcap. Men wear high-heeled boots. When they go to the mosque to worship, or go to visit friends, they wear galoshes over the boots and leave them outside or in the entrance hall.

Women wear long white cotton shirts, narrow at the bottom. For convenience in nursing, the shirt of the married woman has a front opening trimmed with crimson or pink cotton ribbons. A girl's shirt buttons up the back. The outer garment is a long-sleeved robe reaching to the ground. Sometimes a wide-sleeved short jacket is worn over the robe. No sash is worn by women. Boots are similar to those of the men, except that they are fancier and tighter around the calf.

On hot summer days, both men and women wear only their inner shirts, and children run naked most of the summer. In spite of the fact that the ground is very hot in summer, both men and women usually go barefooted.

[302] The girls wear their hair braided in a number of tiny plaits tied with ribbons. Married women braid their hair and wear the plaits in front. Neither men nor women are often seen without hats. In summer the women wear caps or scarves tied onto the backs of their heads. In winter they wear fur hats similar to the men's. Veiling was a custom strictly observed during the reign of Yakub Bek, but it is now disappearing.

563 301 Like most of their sisters elsewhere, the New Uighur women love jewelry. For dress occasions they wear silver earrings mounted with gems, silver finger rings, and coral or glass beads. When flowers are available, they wear flowers on their heads.

563 276 d. Tobacco

Almost all the New Uighur men, and in fact most of the women smoke and chew tobacco. Pipes for smoking are massive wooden products of native craftsmanship. Hashish is used a great deal in the larger villages and towns, though not in the smaller settlements, and in the big towns there are special houses where hashish is sold.

3. Customs and etiquette

563 562 58 a. Marriage

Unlike the Kirghiz, whose brides are highly valued, New Uighur women are at a discount and no bride price is paid. Men can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539]

"Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather

/The New Uighurs/

563 764 [793] come to have one last glimpse of the deceased. Tradition forbids a woman to look upon the face of a dead man, a tradition seldom observed now, but no man, not even the husband, may look at the face of a dead woman.

[184] Among the poor, funeral services take place on the second day in summer, the third in winter. The wealthy delay burial until the third or fourth day to allow time for the relatives to assemble.

No coffin is used. The body is carried in a felt, placed on a [793] stretcher and covered with a white sheet. After a mullah reads [783] a prayer of absolution, four men lift the stretcher and the mourners proceed to the graveyard. Relatives and friends walk in front of the stretcher, the Mullahs behind. Women accompany the procession for a short distance, but never to the grave.

[171] The rites of burial, the position in which the body is placed and the covering of the grave are similar to those of the Kirghiz. 563 764 782 After the mullahs have prayed over the covered grave, the mourners go to the house of a relative where all pray for the deceased. This ceremony is performed in another house because [784] no fire may be made nor food cooked for three days in a house in which death has occurred. The rich perform the post-interment prayers in a tent erected next to the grave, and mullahs [184] are engaged to read the Koran for a time varying, with the family's social and financial position, from seven to forty days.

563 765 Traditionally, close relatives of the deceased, both rich and poor, mourn for forty days after the funeral. They wear black or white robes with white sashes, and the sons of the deceased do not shave their heads.

[782] Three days after death, prayer is said in the home of the deceased. The same kind of prayer, for the redemption of the dead person's sins, is said on the twentieth day after death, and again on the fortieth. On the fortieth day after the death, a close friend of the deceased invites the sons to his home, removes their mourning robes and shaves their heads. The last prayer is offered on the first anniversary of the death.

f. Etiquette and manners

563 562 576 Among most of the New Uighurs who respect the Moslem tradition, it is the women who keep up the prescribed standard of etiquette. In the presence of guests, it is customary for the wife to rise when her husband enters the room, and go and sit near the threshold until the husband seats himself. Also, to hand him anything she must rise, and offer it with both hands. Women always wear some sort of headgear when they eat. This does not mean that the women of Sinkiang are treated as slaves by their husbands. In general they enjoy considerable independence compared with women in other Moslem countries.

563 576 Relations between the New Uighurs are characterized by

/Chinese Moslems/

000 acter Hui signifying "to return."

S N 795 361 The Chinese Moslems live in small, closely knit communities, organized around the mosques. The Moslem community is usually set apart from the general Chinese community. The Moslems may form a whole village, or a certain suburb or section of town. The communities are organized on a local basis and there is no higher religious authority that unites all the communities. The mosques, the religious and social centers of the Moslem communities, are maintained independently.

S N 795 182 At least ostensibly, the religious attitude of the Chinese Moslims is characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property. The more capable and resolute of those who enter into government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult.

S N 795 794 [346] The Moslems in the Northwest do not publicly practice their religion, nor do they advertise it. In some cases their mosques are dissimulated, so that they cannot be distinguished easily from other houses in the village. They are quite lax in their observances of the different rituals connected with Islam. The Chinese Moslems do not regularly attend religious services in the mosque. Aside from the ahung (the religious leader of the Chinese Moslem community) and the extremely orthodox people they do not pray five times a day, but once or twice at most. The noon service is the most popular one, and the place of worship is limited to the mosque. The manner of calling for prayer differs in China from that in Western Asia. The Muazzin does not chant the call to prayer. He stands on the roof of the mosque and shouts the invitation to prayer and may strike a special wooden instrument called ta-p'an-tzu. Most Moslems will ignore the worship time if it interferes with their daily business. Except for some minor differences, the prayer ceremony is conducted in a manner similar to that in Western Asia.

S N [793] [782]

S N [562] Women are not allowed to attend the mosques where the men pray. In some of the larger communities, the women may have a mosque of their own, but in most places they worship individually.

The Friday service draws the best attendance, although certainly not all nor even the majority of believers. On this day the sermon is delivered by the Khatib, a special person, not necessarily a religious leader, elected for the purpose. It is usually in Arabic, and few of those present can understand it.

S N 795 795 794 203 [184] The Fast of Ramadan is one of the rituals which is observed with a degree of strictness in Moslem communities throughout China. In many places there are special messengers who go about the Moslem quarters calling out the times for observing and breaking the fast. Messengers also go around at night lest

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927 AF13 Northwest China
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as soon as we appeared women and girls emerged on every side and sat down with us, forming a gay picture with their brightly coloured dresses and white veils thrown up against the green cornfields behind.

The Moslem women are intelligent, but are only viewed as providing temporary gratification to their husbands, who take them into favour or thrust them aside at pleasure, even divorcing them or bringing fresh wives to the home on the slightest provocation. The concentrated contempt and hatred of a lifetime were stamped on the face of one discarded woman, who, at the mention of her husband, drew herself up, and said: 'Men! they are not men, they are beasts!' The tragedy of the Moslem woman's life makes the opportunity for the Christian woman missionary to present the Gospel of spiritual liberation which she preaches.

Our daily meals consisted of tea and bread in the grey dawn before starting, but on the longest stages we now always found a halfway house where we could sometimes buy hard-boiled eggs; the real meal of the day, however, was made when our march was completed, and into our own little iron pot we put a piece of meat and some vegetables, which we boiled together, ladled out the soup, and divided the meat, Nimga being always ready to finish what remained! The following day we had a long stage of fifty miles, but our driver kept his beasts well fed, and they took the road in fine style, accomplishing the journey in nine and a half hours. The town of Manas which we reached that evening, though a busy market-centre, gives the traveller no idea of the size of the agricultural district which surrounds it. Here is the richest and best watered farming country to be found within range of Urumchi on the north. Its population is almost wholly occupied in farming, and wheat, rice, maize,